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ADOPTION

Terms and Conventions

The terms used for foster relationship were the same as those used for blood relationship except for the addition of an adjective indicating adoption. In general it may be said that the adopted child had the same rights and was subject to the same restrictions as the born child; though there were exceptions. One informant on Uuku Hiva said that *poupuna* (literally, grandchild) was applied to an adopted child unless the adopted mother were the sister of the true mother, in which case the child was called *tama* and was named after the father or the mother of the sisters. I have never heard elsewhere of an adopted child being called by the term for grandchild.

The foster child was named by the adopting family, but had also other names given to it by its own parents. With a couple who had no children, it immediately assumed the position of first-born. Some informants say that the child was taken to the foster mother immediately after birth, others say not until after weaning. In case there were already other children who had been born to the man and his woman, or other adopted children, it appears that it rested with the parents whether the newly adopted child came into the position of the first-born. Dordillon says that if the adopting parents had other children the adopted children shared in inheritance and succeeded to the rights of the family on an equal basis with the natural children or more frequently had some advantage over the natural children. It was explained to me on Nuku Hiva that adopted sons had all the rights of born sons in a family but that adopted girls were practically slaves to their foster brothers.

One informant, an old European resident, said that a woman could not adopt a child outside of her own class, whether high or low. This was in Nuku Hiva, where there was class distinction. It seems probable that everywhere the limit on adoption was not a matter of class but the same limit that we have found determined social distinction in the Marquesas—that is, wealth. None but a wealthy family could have undertaken the exchange of gifts that accompanied the formalities of adopting a child from another wealthy family.

Va is a term given by Dordillon (8) and said to mean "to take back the name after giving it in adoption." Although I have never heard of such an occurrence, this word suggests that sometimes after a name had been formally given the adoption was rescinded and the name taken back.

For adoption, the first-born son of a family was always preferred if such could be secured. The second choice was a first-born daughter. In

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was also called. The true family and all their tribe had been occupied for some time in preparing this gift, which was regarded as equalizing the debt to the adopting family that would in the future have to bear the expense of feeding and clothing the child. These gifts formerly consisted for the most part of ornaments and dress materials, but today money furnishes a more convenient form of wealth. When the gift was all ready, a messenger was sent to Atu Ona to announce the day the people of Hana Mate and neighboring valleys were to come for the feast. On the appointed day the visitors came in groups. Some arrived before the immediate family of the child, but the festivities could not begin until the true father had come. He was called, for this event, *fatu* or *vivini*, which means chief, or director. As each group of relatives of the child arrived, they chanted their genealogies as they approached and were summoned to come to the house as usual. When the father arrived, the gifts were presented and the feast was open. All present immediately pounced on all they could find. At these feasts to celebrate an adoption as at those of betrothal, it was the custom for the visitors to scour the precincts and catch and take home all the pigs they could find. The *ko'ina hai-tono-he'e* was always a private affair at the house of the family that had adopted a child, unless it were a chief who was holding the feast when, of course, it was held on his public feast place. This feast completed the formalities of the adoption.

There are a few features of these rites which are of particular interest. Mothers' brothers and fathers' sisters, both true and adoptive, rather than the parents themselves, played the important roles in the whole performance. The practice of placing the food offerings on the heads at the naming, and the red banyan bark cloth at the time of weaning of the child, is indicative of the sacredness of these offerings. The union of the two families was considered as sealed by the chanting of their several genealogies together. The chanting of the *pu'e* I interpret as signifying the unifying of the family stocks clear back to the beginning of things.

NAMES AND NAMING

Genealogies and their ceremonial use furnish one indication of the significance of names in the native mind. The order of creation was sometimes recounted in genealogical form by lists of names—forces and regions stand as names in genealogical sequence. To these names, which to us are impersonal, the native attached all the attributes of personality. This habit of thought is one with the personification of all the content of objective consciousness on the part of the people. The sense of personality and individuality is developed to an extreme point. Between the name and

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551 this sense of personality, there is so intimate an association that to the native the personal name, whether of a man, a thing, or a force of nature, *is* that person or object. In other words, the name is not attached to or descriptive of, but is identical with a person or thing.

103 In ancient times the bays had distinctive names, as had also different sections and localities in each valley behind each bay—streams, springs, hills, mountains, clefts in the mountains, points of land, small islets, and so on. The names of the bays are used at the present time to indicate the valleys. Many of the valley names are descriptive, such as *Tai-pi Vai (tai,* sea; *pi,* full; *vai,* freshwater stream), one of the characteristics of that valley being its low, swampy section near the sea, where for some distance inland the salt water backs up into the course of the freshwater stream. Many names of bays and also of valleys are preceded by *hana* or *haka,* which means bay—for example, Hana Menu. Valleys and localities are named also for traditional lands, the names of which occur in genealogies and legends—Vevau and Hiti Nui for example. One striking and important feature of place names in the Marquesas is that they were so frequently changed. There are many examples of this. For example, the ancient name of the valley now called Ta'a Oa was Tohuti. This practice of renaming was undoubtedly often due to the incoming of conquerors; but what other reasons for it there may have been it is impossible to know.

552 Feast places and temples are frequently named[4] after traditional or present lands: thus A'o Toka, Pua Ma'u. Evidence was obtained to show that these were also commonly named after chiefs or priests, or other persons to whom they were dedicated. Names of sacred places seem rarely, if ever, to have been descriptive.

Tribes were often named after a traditional ancestor, such as Tiu, Mo'ota, Putio. The Tai-pi have apparently taken their name from their valley. *Ati,* meaning "family," or "relatives," or "clan of" very commonly occurs as the first part of a tribal name—thus, Ati Toka, family of Toka (Tonga). This family lived in A'a Kapa valley on Nuku Hiva and are said to have been noted for their great stature.

Legends show that in addition to naming all the features of nature the native gave personal names to all objects that he possessed. I have examples of the naming of different parts of a man's body. Whether or not this was done commonly I do not know. Dwellings, weapons, stilts, tops, and all other possessions were named individually. A canoe had not only a general name but every part of it had its own particular name.

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[4] A list of Marquesan place names is in preparation.

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Personal Names

Names of individual men and women, that is to say, personal names, were the property of families. It is said that in ancient times one could recognize the family to which an individual belonged by his name. This was certainly true of those who knew genealogy; and there seems to have been in the Marquesas no secrecy with regard to genealogies and personal names such as there was in Tahiti and Hawaii.

Names have no gender, a child's name being decided upon before its birth and given to it regardless of its sex. There was one limitation, however, in connection with this: the same name might be given to two sisters or two brothers, but the same name could not be given to a brother and a sister. The reason for this is obscure. It was in connection with the naming of the first-born, that the greatest care was taken. In the first place all the immediate relatives must agree upon the names that were selected. Names were given to the child by its father, its mother, its grandfathers, its grandmothers, by the father's brothers, and the mother's sisters. It was explained that the object of naming on the part of all these relatives of the child was in order that he should represent every ascending and descending branch of the family. When a child was adopted it was these same relatives who gave the child its adoptive names.

An informant on Nuku Hiva said that one of the names given to every child meant "the head of his mother's brother." For example, there is living in Nuku Hiva now a woman named Te-u'u-o-Taioa, which the informant said was to be translated "the head of Taioa," the woman's maternal uncle being named Taioa. This evidence is particularly interesting in connection with the sanctity of the head, the intimate association of personality and *mana* with the head, and the frequent placing of the child on the heads of *pahupahu* (maternal uncles and paternal aunts) in the rites performed during childhood. Naming the child the head of a *pahupahu* would seem to be for the purpose of sealing the most irrefragable bond.

As was said above, names were given to adopted children by exactly the same family representatives as those who named a child actually born in a family. The names given by the adopting family do not, however, seem to have been considered as clearly the personal property as do the names belonging to the family in which one was born. This is proved by the fact that one could give one's child a name from the genealogy of one's adoptive family only with the permission of the members of that family. In adoption a child might be named and adopted either by the father or by the mother or by both. If it were only the mother who gave it a name, a child had no rights from or relationship to the father.

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551 Personal names appear sometimes to have been descriptive rather than genealogical and to have been handed on after their first use, thus becoming genealogical. For example, the name of a woman on Hiva Oa is Tavahi, meaning "one who invents falsehoods." This woman had a great-grandfather, a noted warrior, who was always the first to go ahead of others in battle, who always killed the first man, and so on—according to his own account. In other words, he was a great fabricator with regard to his own prowess. The native admires even the prowess of false boasting, if artfully done. This man's son was therefore given the name Tavahi. This Tavahi was the father of the aunt by whom the present Tavahi was adopted and with whom she lived.

When individuals were adopted a number of times, as frequently occurred, in several different valleys, they were called by different names in the different valleys.

Assuming New Names

553 Men took new names upon certain occasions. A man who killed another man identified his victim's spirit with himself by taking his name. The conception at the basis of this practice may be that the victim's personality became automatically associated with that of the slayer. This is suggested by the following bit of evidence furnished me by Père Siméon: A man, named Tamae, was once put in prison for having killed a gendarme, named Faire. Since, according to Père Siméon, the name Faire was too difficult for natives to pronounce, Tumae continued to be called by his own name, but the deceased gendarme was always referred to as Tumae. This may have been worked out in Marquesas logic in the following way: Tumae was put in prison for killing the gendarme; therefore it was considered that there was an actual reversal of the apparent situation, in that, as a result of the killing, it was the gendarme, or what he represented, that had gained control of Tumae, putting him in prison. In other words the gendarme was actually the victor and was called Tumae—that is, was given his captive's name. Another example of this transfer of names is that of a certain man at Pua Ma'u, who after having killed a donkey belonging to the Protestant mission was thereafter called *puriki* (donkey). It seems probable, however, that this was a nickname given in mockery. As has been said above, a warrior who killed another in battle took the name of his victim. This, like the possession of his skull or other parts of his body, signalized the control of the *mana* of the victim by the victor. Père Siméon records that a man at Hatiheu was called Puaika (ear) because in a cannibal feast he had eaten a war captive's ear, and

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that another man was called Kupa because his father had killed a man of that name (7).

Tapu Names and Nicknames

Any property might be made *tapu* to its claimant by being given a sacred name that belonged to him. This applied to land, hogs, canoes, and so on. It is said that a child would sometimes be named at birth after a fish, and that thereafter that fish could not be eaten by any member of his tribe. This *tapu* is evidently based on the fact that the things which bore the person's name belonged to that person.

Although a man was always known to members of his family by some one of the genealogical names that had been given him, yet most men were known to the other members of the tribe by some nickname. This might be the name of some enemy, whom he had killed, or it might be a name that had been given to him by outsiders at the time of his birth—a nickname, referring to some incident associated with his birth, to some peculiarity of his parents, and so on. Or it might be the nickname that was given when he was tattooed. At that time a new name called *patiki*, referring to some personal peculiarity, was given to the *opou* (the first-born lad, for whom the work of tattooing had been organized by his father) by all the *ka'ioi* (youths) who were participating in the operation with him. Only *opou* had such names; *ka'ioi* had no *patiki*. The family of a lad who had such a nickname never used this name, but everyone else in the tribe did. It is suggested, with regard to this, that the giving of a new name to the *opou* may be a survival of a custom similar to that in Australia, where the youth was given a new name at the time of puberty rites.

Exchanging Names

The institution called *o inoa* consisted of a formal union between two individuals of the same sex, which was accomplished by an exchange of names, the two thus becoming namesakes. The discussion of the intimate connection or identity of the personality and the name indicates how complete a bond this made for the native.

With the name went all the rights of each individual. A man who was one's namesake had a right to all one's property—even to one's wife—, and to all such rights as one might have through inheritance or position. In war time captives from an enemy tribe had their lives saved sometimes by being made namesake of the chief of the victorious tribe. The *o inoa* convention was respected not only by the two individuals but by the other members of their respective tribes. In other words if a man had a namesake who belonged to an enemy tribe that would kill any other member

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water, drawing it out, throwing it back in again, and so on, until the victim expired. In the rite called *vai titi* a live victim was attached to four posts by his limbs and roasted over a fire on the sea-shore (9). One of the most cruel of the tortures consisted in roasting a live victim by slow degrees, burying him in the sand on the shore and building fires around him. *Heaka tao* meant to roast a foe in an oven; *heaka te'i,* to dismember a victim; and *heaka makoke,* to parcel out his flesh. The body was cut up with a bamboo knife or a sharp stone. Taava and Taavi were the patron gods of all these practices associated with human sacrifice (4). Victims were sometimes suspended alive on a hook attached to the chin, the lips, or the nostrils.

CAPTIVES AS WAR PRIZES

The bones and certain other parts of revenge victims not offered to the tribal gods were regarded as the prizes of the victim's captors. The warrior who brought home a victim for sacrifice or part of one was thereafter called by the name of his victim. The *pudendum* of a woman was sometimes atached to a lock of a victorious warrior's hair and was worn as a sign of his prowess (4). Fingers were saved and worn on the loin cloth of the captor. Other long bones were used in making ornaments, fan handles, hair and drum cord binders, and fish hooks. But the most important of the prizes was the head. The skull and the name of a foe went to the man who killed him. This and other relics such as hands, for example, were consecrated and dried by the priest in the temple by means of some rite of which I have no account, and were then returned to the victor. When warriors went into battle they wore these prizes on the loin cloth, on the ankle, or hanging down on the back by a cord from the neck. Langsdorff (18, pp. 149-50) describes such ornaments of the warrior as being decorated with hog's bristles, and having the underjaw fastened to it ingeniously with coconut fibers, and Marchand (22, p. 116) tells us that warriors sometimes wore three of these trophies at one time. In peace times these prizes were hung up in the houses or wrapped in cloth and secreted. The following is Melville's description (23, p. 265) of skulls that he saw:

> The skull was in a state of perfect preservation, and from the slight glimpse I had of it, seemed to have been subjected to some smoking operation which had reduced it to the dry, hard, and mummy-like appearance it presented. The two long scalp-locks were twisted up into balls upon the crown of the head in the same way that the individual had worn them during life. The sunken cheeks were rendered yet more ghastly by the rows of glistening teeth which protruded from between the lips, while the sockets of the eyes—filled with oval bits of mother-of-pearl shell, with a black spot in the centre—heightened the hideousness of its aspect.

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new one boasted finer carving. Sacred objects, if carried away, had the power to return to the tribe. Objects might be clad but they were never fed; the nearest approach to this being the attitude toward the war canoes. When such a craft was initiated, it was launched over the body of a victim, a rite which was supposed in some way to make the canoe stronger.

The practice of naming was carried to still further lengths. An important person, a chief or an inspirational priest, had distinct names for the different parts of his body, ten or twelve different members being named, the most honorable names being attached to the genitals. This practice held for both sexes.

Name exchange between friends was common. In such exchanges the personality of each participant was fused with that of the other. When together, each addressed the other by his own name. When a native killed a man, he had the right to use the dead man's name, which he frequently did, especially if the victim was more important than the killer. The weapon with which a man was killed might also be given the name of the victim.

Master craftsmen were sought in name-exchange relationship by people from other tribes, and consequently had considerable freedom of movement. A *tuhunga* frequently had several *enoas*, or blood brothers, often in other tribes. When one was *enoa* with a man, one had equal rights to his property and stood in the same relation to his relatives as he did.

Social Organization

The basic social units were the tribe and the household. There was no clan organization within the tribe, which was in theory an extended relationship group, all of whose members traced connection with an original ancestor, either through actual descent or by adoption. Family lines and ties, aside from those between child and mother's brothers or father's sisters, were rather loose. Mother's brothers and father's sisters were the individuals to whom the child looked for sponsorship in all ceremonies, his relationship to them being closer than that with

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Marquesan		Uhi tua
pehea 'oé?	(where are you going)	peheiherea o'oe'oroe
makimaki	(want or desire)	ma'i ma'i maraki
to'e	(clitoris)	to'i to'etoroe
eue	(erect penis)	e'ui'urue
pipirio	(vulva)	pi'i pi'i pirio
tea tea	(semen)	teate'i terea

Also used in joking exchanges are secret nicknames which are not usually known by the person to whom they are applied. Thus, an individual may be discussed in very derogatory fashion in his very presence. Much mocking impersonation is also used, as the Marquesans are inclined to study minor idiosyncracies in order to be able to mimic their possessor. [551]●

Female coyness at chance encounters with groups of boys often results in what amounts to athletic contests. A group of girls will approach a group /40/ of boys on a path and shout some type of insults. The boys will respond and try to stop the girls, who run and hide. The boys then run after them but do not catch up. The girls run again and again the boys give chase. Finally, the girls when overtaken act as though nothing had happened, and display a somewhat arrogant attitude toward the boys. 834 883

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Soccer has been introduced by missionaries as a recreation with the added hoped-for benefit that it will prove fatiguing enough to cut down nocturnal activity. In each valley, formal adult teams are organized but children and adolescents play also, usually on Sundays after church. The same kind of rough joking insults and athletic competitiveness between potential sexual partners is to be noted in these games. Boys often become sexually aroused to the point of complete erection of the penis, which serves as a further source of jokes and banter. No real attempts are made to hide the erection and the boy will continue playing. I once witnessed a boy play soccer for nearly two hours with a constant erection, in front of the church in Hatiheu.

Although the everyday public contacts between boys and girls are marked by the indifference and generally rough conduct 832 883

/66 cont./ 585 833 [192] [195]
of the opposite sex. In mixed company ke'a, mo'e piki, or hano are used.

During the act, married women display their excitation with more abandon than in the premarital period.

In marital sexual relations, there is no after-play. Both individuals go out and wash, one after the other, and then may go to sleep or resume sexual intercourse.

Impotency among robust males below the old-age level 159 833 837
is relatively rare. During our stay, we only encountered one male who suffered from this condition. Another historic case of a well-known chief who was impotent with his wife was recounted. In the one case observed, the individual was married to an attractive woman who remained with him, but /67/ compensated by engaging in extramarital intercourse with high frequency, often making little attempt to conceal her liaisons from her husband. He displayed an attitude of resignation and often disinterest concerning her unions with his personal friends, but became irate when he suspected she was having relations with individuals that he did not like. His relations with his wife were limited to mutual oral stimulation of the genitals, performed infrequently. The rest of the community regarded him with some pity, often expressing wonderment as to the basis of his condition, in view of the fact that he had won renown as a youth for excessive virility and potency. His appellation was Hati - "Broken" - an obvious reference to his affliction. During our stay, Hati appeared to be extremely maladjusted. His conversation was often irrational, and he was obsessed with the topic of sexual potency. He drank to excess by the culture's standards, remaining drunk throughout a good part of the day, several days a week. He worked rarely, and was an indifferent worker when he was employed. Shortly after our return to the United States, we received information that he had developed a full-blown psychosis, necessitating hospitalization. [551] [158] [733] [158]

Impotency in elderly males is not regarded as unusual. 833 888 [832]
Oral stimulation is practiced in such cases, as in that cited above.